trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil cake.[30] Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark color with a slight value as merchandise. The contractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for export to Nagasaki.[31] New methods of preparing tangle were introduced into remote areas. These advancements in technique required large capital. The simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch. But as the tools improved their manufacture passed beyond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors expanded the area of their activities, they operated the new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor. The entire expansion of the fishing industry was probably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets. Inevitably there arose a change in the economic relationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a small scale trade which could only be surmounted by such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.[32]

On the other hand, the contractors, with their improvements and regulations, made it possible greatly to increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in bands of thirty to fifty would come to the trade post with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake, yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with sea cucumber they would return to the post where clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered. After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken back to the post. There Ezo women worked under foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used to load the boats.[33]

The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No longer were the chiefs men of character but merely supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could not be much improved by the use of nets but large scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was operated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

[30] *Ibid.*, 403, 407.
[31] *Ibid.*, 410.
[32] See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.
[33] *Igen Zokuwa* 1, on catching sea cucumbers.

commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The Ezo were completely under contractor control, working as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing. This change became obvious in the period falling from the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so did this change come into operation at various times. Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on local products and conditions, penetrate. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

> The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries. The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods directly with the merchants. The merchants could also enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae.

Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae were still in the barter stage. The *Matsumae Ezo Ki* shows a further development in *Basho* operation: "There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on various articles." This method became more and more popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were also due to the type of product handled.

1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods of hunting them and carry on without capital advances or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by barter.

2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a credit system was established.

3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale production was possible and the entrepreneur himself took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new territory. Naturally the trade shifted inland and as the trade in this group decreased the trade in the products of groups (2) and (3) became more important.

These three types of products brought about a change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo who dealt in group (1) retained their position as independent producers and were on equal terms while those Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to be independent producers but were actually subject to the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the merchants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

were presented with sealed appointments and had orders issued them as if they were a Manchurian colony[42] while, on the other hand, the Santan entered Karafuto when they pleased and traveled about freely hunting in the mountains. In other words, Karafuto came under Manchurian hegemony. When Japan went into Karafuto determined to manage with the same policies and methods the Manchurians used, there was bound to be trouble. So it was vital for the Bakufu to take an interest in the Santan trade.[43]

This was then the situation of the Santan-Ezo trade. But because the Ezo were lazy and the marten skins decreased from year to year until it was necessary for the Ezo to substitute in the trade their own goods plus swords, knives, and other Japanese-made goods obtained from Hokkaidô, many of them went into debt. Since there existed no standard rules for conducting trade, it would be carried on either at an Ezo or a Santan dwelling or sometimes simply on the open road where a price would be agreed upon. If the parties to the transaction were well acquainted, a year's credit was frequently agreed upon. But since the Santan were clever and the Ezo were not, the Ezo often accepted loans from the Santan and, at the expiration of the loan period, quarrels would arise owing to miscalculations or the Ezo would be unable to pay and the result was harsh treatment for the Ezo. Some were taken as human mortgages to serve the Santan as slaves and it is said that in later years women and children were sold.[44] So the Ezo feared the Santan and whenever it was known that the Santan were coming the Ezo would run and hide in the mountains. This timidity made the Santan even more arbitrary and some of them would loot the Ezo houses and hunt as they pleased or eat and drink as they wanted without payment.[45]

The trade center between Matsumae and Karafuto had been moved from Sôya to Shiranushi and in 1790 the Matsumae set up a post in Karafuto. The Orokko trade was handled at Kushunkotan and the Santan trade at Shiranushi and the Ezo were forbidden to go to Santan but since the officials during *Omusha* accepted the trade goods under the name of tribute it only added to the burdens of the Ezo. Thus the Ezo were victims of both the Japanese and the Santan. When the Bakufu stationed Matsuda Denjurô in Karafuto in 1809, he came to the conclusions that either the Ezo debt

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[42] *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*, Suppl.

[43] Karafuto no gi ni tsuki hyôgi no omomuki moshiage sôrô kakitsuke (Report on tenor of the discussions concerning Karafuto), *Kyumei Kôki* Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 765.

[44] "It was the practice to sell the Ezo of this island to the Santan. Regardless of sex the poor and weak without family or kin would be lured out of a village and sold. The price ranged from three or four rolls of brocade to six or seven rolls depending upon physical condition. In cases where the Ezo was in particularly poor condition or so lazy that no satisfactory work could be expected he was not worth brocade and was traded for miscellaneous items." *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*.

[45] *Hokui Dan* 4.

must be paid off and the Santan trade stopped or the trade be continued under strict supervision. He proposed these alternatives to the Matsumae Magistracy which thereupon ordered him to settle the accounts between the Ezo and the Santan. Denjurō issued a notice to all Santan who had made loans to the Ezo to report to his office within three years and, when they did appear, with their witnesses, the Ezo was required to pay as much as he could and the Bakufu paid the remainder. As evidence of settlement, the name of the Santan was registered and he had to make out a receipt. When the Santan heard of this state of affairs a great number of them came to claim their debts and by 1812 the debts called in amounted to 2,975 marten skins from the Karafuto Ezo and 2,571 skins from the Sōya Ezo, a total of 5,546 marten skins of which the Ezo themselves paid only 499 skins, the government paying the remaining 5,047 in the form of 2523½ otter skins (the otter skin being equal to two marten skins), at a total value of more than 131 ryō.[46] Since at that time there was definite knowledge that of the number of Ezo taken to Santan three were from Karafuto and two from Sōya; these were returned after their debts were paid.

Having had all their debts settled, the Ezo were prohibited from making private loans from the Santan and as a sworn token of this the *Otona* in Sōya and Karafuto were requested to deposit *Makiri* [Ezo swords] at Japanese headquarters. It was also commanded that the presentation of Santan goods to the Matsumae at *Omusha* be stopped and that local goods be substituted, thus blocking any further loans.

The attitude of the Santan toward the Bakufu officials was, at first, as contemptuous as their attitude toward the Ezo, but after Denjurō ordered (1) that hats be knocked off if they were worn into the official quarters; (2) that Santan trying to enter the post with their shoes on be beaten on the shins; (3) that pipes be stricken out of the mouths of those inside his offices and that those who did not observe the regulations be punished, there was a change in their behavior. As soon as Denjurō saw that he had subdued the Santan, he set strict rules for the trade which he permitted to be carried on at Shiranushi only. His subordinates directed the trade and, when they had concluded their business, the Santan had to return to their own country.[47] The skin exports of Karafuto were bought by the government which also monopolized imports. Denjurō established fixed prices and in general operated the trade to his advantage.[48] His motive, according to

[46] Kita Ezojin Sōya Ezojin Santanjin yori koshaku hensai kata shiwakechō (Record of debts paid to the Santan by the North Ezo and the Sōya Ezo).

[47] *Hokui Dan* 4.

[48] The trade rates fixed at this period are omitted since they can be found in Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Hokkaidō Shikō*, 93-94, and other published sources. It is apparent, as will be seen below, that the trade was conducted to the advantage of Japan. The trade rate comparison given below is from Karafuto narabi